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文 学 研 究

论《左传》的性质

傅 刚
(北京大学 中文系, 北京 100871)

摘 要: 从汉人的史书著录以及各种经学史料看,《左传》性质是《春秋》之传,由此可以证明,疑《左》学者是歪曲班固《汉书》的“引《传》文解《经》”。《左传》不仅全书配合《春秋》,逐年逐条以事解经,且全书以义例贯穿,乃能使《春秋》微显阐幽,褒贬从实。从史官的建置、职责和史书的形态上可知,春秋以前不会出现《左传》这种类型的史书。《左传》之所以被后人视为史书,是因为它以事解《经》,叙事本身自然具有史书特征。尤其是孔子删削鲁史,显明义例,寄寓褒贬,遂使《春秋》由鲁国不同史官所成之各代之史,成为“探赜索隐,致远钩深”的通史。《左传》解孔子所删之《春秋》,继承了这种通观历史的史识,在详细的史料安排中,表现出更加明确的总结、判断,后人遂舍其解《经》之本,而乐于视其为史书,此实为误识,但也有其本因。

关键词:《左传》;性质;史书
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《左传》的经学性质,自汉代以来便是主流看法,唐人的九经、十一经,以及至于宋代的十三经,皆以《左传》列为经部。但汉代今文经学家因为利禄原因,反对《左传》列为官学,理由是《左传》不传《春秋》。这本是汉代经今、古经学的争议,唐宋以后儒者,受其影响,站在《公》《谷》二传立场上疑《左》,认为《左传》所释《春秋》经义不如二传精核,指擿《左传》详于事而疏于义。不过,唐宋以来儒者虽疑《左》,基本立场仍然将之视为《春秋》三传之一,有称其《左传》史学者,如朱熹,也是站在经学立场上认为该书不尽是经。至于清代刘逢禄氏出,声称刘歆伪造《左传》,其后康有为发扬张大,倡刘歆破散《国语》而成《左传》说。继刘、康之后,疑古学者崔适乃在刘歆伪造《左传》的基础上,申论左丘明不传《春秋》。刘、康、崔对《左传》的观点,虽与汉代今文经学家相似,但立场却截然不同。汉代今文经学家虽然主张《左传》不传《春秋》,但没有人说它是伪书,刘、康、崔则是在认定其为伪书立场上论其不传《春秋》,这有本质的区别。伪书说很快被钱穆等学者缜密的证据所攻破,至顾颉刚等疑古学派也唾弃了这个说法,但基于疑古立场,仍然坚持《左传》不传《春秋》,认为《左传》是史书,而这竟然成为近现代学术界主流看法,影响至今。这里面既有学术上的疑古思潮的影响,也有政治上批孔、反经的需要,在今日学术昌明之际,正本求源,应该陆除非学术因素,还原《左传》的本来面貌,廓清迷雾,究其性质,定其是非,此乃本文所以讨论的原因。以下主要围绕《左传》为《春秋》之《传》,以及《左传》何以具有史书性质两方面展开。

一、《左传》是《经》之《传》

《左传》的性质,伴随着经学的发展而在各不同历史阶段有不同的认识。传世文献中,最早著录《左传》的是《汉书·艺文志》。《汉书·艺文志》为东汉班固所著,但《艺文志》则是依据刘歆的《七略》,因此《左传》的著录,实际是西汉刘歆协助其父刘向校理中秘图书时的事情。《汉书·艺文志》“春秋”类

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智伯,故《左传》缀悼公四年事以为《传》末①,应季札之言,且亦为春秋之世终。

综上,我们认为,《左传》一书的性质首先是《春秋》之《传》,但由于孔子修《春秋》,因总编历年鲁史,寄寓褒贬,赋予《春秋》以义,遂改变了中国古代史官的传统,诞生了编年体史书新体。《左传》以叙事解《春秋》之义,也自然具有了编年史的特征,但是,《左传》深刻把握孔子微言大义,以义观察二百四十二年历史事件,加以总结、评判,使得这一部解《经》之传具有了史识,从而影响了司马迁。司马迁又将通史扩大范围,上至五帝,下至当代,又创本纪、世家、列传及年表诸体,成为“究天人之际,通古今之变,成一家之言”的通史,但这个传统,却是从孔子、《左传》发展而来。因为司马迁的源头在《左传》,后人便以对司马迁的认识加到《左传》身上,认为它也是史书。这是一种误识。我们认为《左传》的性质仍是《春秋》之《传》,但因其具有史识,而开辟了后世史学传统,这个性质是不能简单用“经而史”来定义的。

On the Nature of *Zuo Zhuan*

Fu Gang

(*Department of Chinese Language and Literature*, *Beijing* 100871, *China*)

Abstract: This article provides evidence, drawn from historical records by the historians of the Han Dynasty and various Confucian classics, to support the claim that the nature of *Zuo Zhuan* (《左传》) is a commentary on *the Spring and Autumn Annals* (《春秋》). Furthermore, this article investigates how those scholars who held a skeptical attitude towards *Zuo Zhuan* distorted Ban Gu's (班固) famous quotation that "the citations from *Zuo Zhuan* are intended to elucidate *the Spring and Autumn Annals*" ("引《传》文解《经》") in his *Chronicles of the Han Dynasty* (《汉书》). Through a meticulous analysis, this article exposes the fallacy of those scholars who doubted *Zuo Zhuan's* role as a commentary on *the Spring and Autumn Annals*. This article contends that *Zuo Zhuan* not only collaborated with *the Spring and Autumn Annals* throughout the book, providing explanations for *the Spring and Autumn Annals* line by line and year by year, but also pervaded the whole work with its formats and examples. It is through this approach that the subtle and profound meanings of *the Spring and Autumn Annals* could ultimately be explicated, and its praise and criticism could be interpreted faithfully. With regards to the claim that *Zuo Zhuan* is a historical record in nature, this article argues, according to the establishment, responsibility, and form of the official historians, that there could not be a type of historical record like *Zuo Zhuan* before the Spring and Autumn Period. Later generations considered *Zuo Zhuan* as a historical record because of its detailed factual interpretations of *the Spring and Autumn Annals*, which imbued its narratives with the characteristics of a historical record. In particular, the re-editing of the history of the Lu State (鲁史) by Confucius clarified its formats and expressed his praise and criticism, thus transforming *the Spring and Autumn Annals* from a record of different periods made by various historiographers of the Lu State into a general history that "explores the hidden and attains a profound state" ("探赜索隐,致远钩深"). When *Zuo Zhuan* elucidated *the Spring and Autumn Annals* re-edited by Confucius, it inherited this sense of a comprehensive history. Through its detailed arrangement of historical materials, *Zuo Zhuan* demonstrated even more definite summaries and judgments. Consequently, later generations tended to disregard its fundamental nature of elucidating *the Spring and Autumn Annals* and treat it as a historical record instead. This is really a misunderstanding, but one that has its own causes.

Key words: *Zuo Zhuan* (《左传》); nature; historical record

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① 参安井衡《左传辑释》,日本明治四年刻本。